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LETTER

FROM

An Old CAVALIER,

Philocarthus K.
To the Reverend

Mr. THOMAS WINGFIELD,

On Occasion of his SERMON at
St. Paul's, on the 30th of January last.

I am exceedingly afraid, if the Matter were narrowly look'd into, that the very Crime of this Day is not so generally, so thoroughly, repented of, as it ought to be. If it be, how comes it to pass, that the very same Maxims and Doctrines, that brought the King from the Prison to the Block, are so publickly avow'd, and industriously propagated? And what can be the Meaning of that Barbarous Feast, that is said (nor can it be gainsaid) to be annually kept up, to Mock the Solemnity of the Day, and Glory in the Execrable Deed? Dr. Moss's Sermon, before the House of Commons, Jan. 30, 1706, in 4to. p. 27, 28.

LONDON:

Printed for J. COBHAM, near St.
Paul's. (Price Six-pence.)

Just Published,

(Price 5s. in Sheets)

A B R I E F
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D,
BOTH IN
CHURCH and STATE;
BY WAY OF
QUESTION and ANSWER:

Faithfully extracted from the most *Authen-*
tic Histories and Records; with exact
Chronological Tables, and a compleat *Index*,
&c.



A

LETTER, &c.

SIR,

THE many Censures occasionally pass'd in Conversation, upon your Sermon preach'd at St. Paul's on the 30th of January last, excited in me a more than ordinary Curiosity to read it, when publish'd. And some Passages, upon which at first Sight I transiently cast my Eye, would have almost perswaded me to think, you had been misrepresented, by those who reported you to have fail'd in your Duty to the Day, and the Great Occasion of that Solemnity.

But so soon as I had Leisure to peruse the whole, and to compare the Passages one with another, I found Reason enough to incline to their Opinion; and to appeal to the World, whether you have done Justice to the Subject

B you

you took upon you to treat of, or even to that Great and Honourable Assembly, in which you was expected to appear as a Monitor to Fasting and Humiliation. For indeed, the dressing and serving up of your Entertainment, within Doors, convinc'd me of what (from the Sight of open Shops, crowded Streets and loaded Shambles, &c. not to speak of the *Calves-heads!* obvious enough abroad) I had Reason to suspect, that many of the Inhabitants in and about this great *Metropolis* were (even that Day) like to be better Fed than Taught !

Keep your Temper, Dear Sir, and make some Allowance for the Passions of an *Old Cavalier*, who liv'd in Times, when that solemn Anniversary was observ'd in a more devout and decent Manner: When our Shops were empty, and our Churches full of serious Mourners for those National Sins, which brought down that National Judgment upon us: When our Preachers were not under any Influence or Temptation to Trim and Temporize, but conscientiously taught and inculcated the Principles of true Religion and Loyalty, and the great Sin and Danger of *Disobedience and wilful Rebellion* against

See the Rubric after the Nicene Creed in the Office for the Day. Lawful Authority, according to the Doctrine of the *Homilies*; which by Law is your bounden Duty still to do: And when those vile *Fanatical Miscreants*, who were otherwise

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wise-minded, were equally afraid and sham'd to shew themselves in the Face of the Sun, and therefore laid their Heads together in Places of Darkness and Obscurity, as fittest for their infernal Enterprizes and Consultations. How audaciously they presume, now-a-days, to appear in open Day-light, is evident to all the World: But, we may fairly conclude, they are embolden'd thereto, by such-like Apologies as you have here made for their Principles and Practices.

I am not insensible, that your Sermon comes into the World under the Sanction of Authority: Nor am I conscious of any Disposition in myself to *despise Dominion and speak Evil of Dignities*. So far the contrary, that if I should live to see the most notorious *Time-server* or *Turn-coat* lawfully vested with Authority, I would distinguish between the Character and the Person, so as to forbear any Reflections upon the one, in dutiful Respect to the other. But this, I hope, may be said without Offence, that *Thanks* of this Kind are no certain Proof of Approbation, but often pass, as of course, (after once hearing, and perhaps that too without due Attention to the Matter in hand) meerly in Compliment to the favourite Preacher, or his Patron: So that, when a Discourse is publickly exposed to the World, we do not think its *Imprimatur* can justly barr the Reader from

his Right to pass such Judgment upon it, as the Subject and Performance may deserve.

In Virtue of this Privilege, I have now fate down, to take a full and impartial Review of your Sermon : Wherein I shall so far fol-

P. 10. low your own Rule and Advice,

as neither to *rip up old Sores that have been long since closed, or widen any Differences that still Subsist among us*; nor yet, *out of a false Modesty, and a mere Affectation of Tenderness, forbear to follow the Advice of the Text, to render to all their Dues.*

In Order to which honest End, (*in the Ibid. most extensive Sense of the Words.*) I propose to myself,

I. To examine the most material Principles and Positions laid down, as the Grounds of your Discourse, with the Use and Application you have made thereof. And

II. To glean up and collect some of your other scatter'd Words and Expressions, which seem liable to Misconstruction; with Remarks upon the whole, as I go along, adapted to the Day and the Occasion.

Now, among the first, you say, ‘Indeed, Christianity makes not any sort of Altera-

P. 7. ‘ tion in our *civil Rights and*

‘ Privileges, but leaves us just as it found us, in that Respect: Only where

‘ Obe-

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‘ *Obedience* (or any other Part of *civil Duty*)
‘ was previously due from us, there the *Gospel*
‘ comes in Aid of the *civil Power*, requiring
‘ us to be *subject*, not only for *Wrath*, but
‘ for *Conscience Sake*, ’ (Rom. xiii. 5.)
But, Sir, if this be true, (as, I know, it was
held to be, above 60 Years ago) will it not
bear hard upon the Principles and Practices
of those, who resisted, deposed, exiled, ab-
jured and murder’d their natural Sovereigns
to whom *Obedience* was previously due by
inherent Birth-right and undoubted heredi-
tary Succession? For, what tho’ some of them
were insinuated to have been *Popishly-affec-
ted*, and one of them was a professed
Papist? If *Christianity* made no *Alteration in
that Respect*, the *Obedience* which was *pre-
viously due* to them by Nature could not be
voided, but was confirm’d by the *Aid of the
Gospel*: And then, those of their Subjects
who withdrew their Allegiance, and re-
bell’d against them, will be brought within
the Censure, and incur the Guilt and Pe-
nalty here denounc’d in this Apostolical Sen-
tence. Neither can you hope that any of
those specious Pretences of *Popery*, *Slavery*,
Tyranny, *Oppression*, *Arbitrary Power*, &c.
with which you and others have so deeply
branded their Memory, will be sufficient to
acquit their Rebellious Subjects before God,
if you know and consider, that this Divine
Precept of *Obedience* and *Subjection* was
given

given under the Empire of *Nero*, an *Heathen Idolater* and monstrous *Tyrant*! and that too without Distinction of Persons or Places, Religion or Morals, provided always that the *Higher Powers* must be the *Egyptian*, lawfully and rightfully vested with Authority over them.

This was wont to be the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and all her *Orthodox* Divines heretofore in my Time; and would have become you, Sir, on that solemn Occasion, much better than such an uncouth *Harangue*, which seems rather an Excuse for the Sin of the Day, than a Motive to Humiliation for it.

For, thus you proceed, in the Words immediately following; ‘So long as the *Civil*

P. 7, 8. ‘*Magistrate*—continues to act

‘ agreeably to the End of his
 ‘ Office, viz. *For the Punishment of Evil*
 ‘ *Doers*, and for the *Praise* of them that do
 ‘ well, (1 Pet. ii. 14.) Submission and Obe-
 ‘ dience to Him is part of our *Christian*
 ‘ Duty: But, if, instead of this, he should
 ‘ prove a *Terror to the good Works, and not*
 ‘ *to the Evil*, (Rom. xiii. 3.) no one surely!
 ‘ Now-a-days, will pretend that the *Reli-*
 ‘ *gion of Christ* requires us to be accessary to
 ‘ our own Destruction; but the governed
 ‘ *Society* hath, according to Reason and the
 ‘ *Nature of Things*, a Right of Self-Preser-
 ‘ vation and Self-Defence, to be exerted, as
 ‘ the

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the Exigence of the Times, and the Rules
of Prudence shall require.'

Whence you learn'd this Doctrine I need not inquire. Every one knows, it was sometime call'd *Bangorian*; and from so high a Fountain, might, by Translations, easily descend so low, as to be implicitly suck'd in by an *Hospitaler* of St. Thomas's in Southwark, within the Diocese of *Winchester*! But, unless your Reading has been Partial, and only on one Side, you might have been convinc'd, that these Principles (among others of the like Strain) are so far from being consistent with the Gospel of *Christ* and his Apostles, that they plainly tend to confirm that *Jealousy*, which (you observe) the *Christian Religion*, at its first Appearance in the World, raised in the Ruling Powers, ' lest it should seduce their Subjects from their bounden Allegiance, and cause them to withdraw their Obedience from their Rightful Governors.' For, tho' that indeed was a *Slander* at first raised upon it by the Jews,—a false Accusation against our Saviour himself, --and a *Calumny* continued to be propagated among them; and, as you observe, ' perhaps, some new Converts, thro' the Indiscretion of their Zeal, might give some Colour to the Report:' This, however, is clear enough (without a *perhaps*) that those who propagate such Principles, and especially in a 30th of January

P. 5.

Ibid.

January Sermon, can't be suppos'd to have any other Design in so doing, than to justify (if possible) those *Miscreants*, who actually did seduce the Subjects of K. Cha. I. &c. from their bounden Allegiance, and cause them to withdraw their Obedience from their (then undoubted) Rightful Governors; whatever plausible Pretences they may think fit to make, of Zeal for the present Ruling Powers.

For my Part, had I the Honour to be of the Privy-Council, I should look upon the Men of your precarious Principles, as much more dangerous to *any* Government, than those who, out of a Principle of Conscience (tho' mistaken) scruple to comply: As these are fair and open Adversaries, and only stand off, till their *Consciences* can be fairly convinc'd of a Mistake; whereas the *others* have a present *Interest* in their Compliance, and are ready to revolt, whenever they are pleas'd to look askew at the Administration, and to charge it with acting contrary to the *End* of its Institution; that is, in plain *English*, whenever the Administration is not agreeable to their own private Schemes and Notions.

For, what else can be the Meaning of that Limitation of our *Submission and Obedience to the Civil Magistrate*, only so long, and no longer, than he *continues to act agreeably to the End of his Office*, &c. but that any powerful Sect or Faction may take upon them in their

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their Turn, to question their Sovereign's Administration, and exert a pretended *Right of Self-Preservation and Self-Defence* against him, till at last they overturn the Government, and set up for themselves, in such a Manner as (they shall judge) *the Exigence of the Times, and the Rules of Prudence shall require?*

If this your favourite Notion should come to be generally receiv'd and allow'd, your Argument will prove too much; and therefore is good for nothing. For, may not the growing Sect of the *Quakers*, when strong enough, be thus moved to exert themselves against any future King, if they shall think he has not *the Spirit within him?* May not that other numerous Sect, which glories in its *Infidelity*, be strong and wicked enough in Time, to attempt the like against any Prince whom they may charge with Superstition, for believing the Creeds, &c. May not a certain Party, whom you charge with *a factious Spirit of Opposition, which pushes Men on to clog the Wheels of Government, and to distress an Administration,* P. 8. *without real Cause:* (May not they, I say, if any such there be) represent some of the publick Measures as *a Terror to the good Works and not to the Evil*, and therefore not agreeable to the End of Government, but tending to the *Destruction of the govern'd Society!* Then what can be said, upon your Principles

les, why any of these should not, as well as the rest of the governed Society, have, according to Reason and the Nature of Things, a right of Self-preservation, and Self-defence, to be exerted, as the Exigence of Times, and the Rules of Prudence, shall require? For, of all this you leave the governed Society, or any prevailing Party of them, to Judge for themselves.

Thus, in consequence of your Doctrine, 'tis evident (without a *perhaps*) that the Ambitious and the Factious (of whom there have been too many in all Ages) may 'hope

P. 14. ' to reap Advantages, by setting the Nation in a Ferment, at any Time, and inspiring the *Populace* with Sentiments of disloyalty.' And thus you have opened a wide Door, to introduce those very Confusions, with all their numerous train of evil Works, against which you have

P. 14. so loudly declaim'd, as the common Consequence of a Spirit of Libertinism, Irreligion, Infidelity, and popular Revolutions!

Remember, Sir, that it was 'to guard against these Inconveniences for the future, St. Paul, in this Chapter to the Romans, presses upon them the Duty of Submission to the Higher Powers, in very strong Terms: — In like Manner, St. Peter exhorts those he wrote to.' And while you teach the People, to break through this strong double Guard, or to evade it, by subtle

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subtle Distinctions, contrary to the express Words and Meaning of the inspired Apostles, consider, whether this is not *perverting the Gospel of Christ, and preaching another Gospel, than that which they preached;* and take heed of the *Anathema denounc'd by the Holy Spirit, against such as presume to do so!* (*Gal. i. 7, 8, 9.*)

Remember, that ‘ Attempts to introduce Innovations are generally of bad Consequence in most Cases; but, in Religion and Law, they are so much the worse, as these are of more sacred and universal Concern.’ But the indispensable Duty of Submission to Authority, and of Obedience (active or passive) to those who are *rightfully vested therewith*, has been the Doctrine of all Ages, from the Creation of the World, down to the Times we live in; as being *previously due*, even by Nature, before the Will of God was reveal’d, either in the Law or the *Gospel*; which last (as you observe) *only comes in Aid of the Civil Power*, with an additional Obligation upon our *Consciences* to the Performance of that Obedience, where (and to whom) it was *previously due from us.*

This, if we give due Attention and Credit to the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, or even to the Authentic Histories and Records of our own Nation, must be allow’d for found Doctrine, both in

Religion and Law, among those old Principles that have been long tried, and experimentally found to be good; (and which therefore, according to your own Argument) should not be too easily parted with for others we know little certain of, tho' they shoud come recommended under a specious Garb: (Because) the outward Appearance is often fallacious, the Experiment hazardous, and the Advantages pretendedly said to arise from it, mostly precarious.'

You have cited many Authorities of Holy Scripture, expressly setting - forth our Duty to God and the King as inseparable; and the Reverence and Submission due to the Royal Character, which ought always to be had in profound Veneration by all the People! The great

P. 14, 19, 20, 23, 24. Sin and mischievous Effects of despising Dominion and speaking evil of Dignities; as well as the Danger of meddling with them that are given to change. And you have largely dilated upon many of the pernicious and destructive Notions

P. 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 18, 19, 24. of Christian Liberty; the Consequences of not duly considering wherein it doth consist; and how apt it is to degenerate into Libertinism, Licentiousness, Contempt of Authority, Faction and

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and *Rebellion*. This, and the like, (I say) you have enlarg'd upon in the general, and, as it were, by way of Common-place: But what you infer from thence, by way of Application to the Solemnity of the *Day*, is far from coming up to Expectation.

'Tis true, you vouchsafe to call the actual Decollation of the King, an *horrible Murder*, which 'cannot but be had in
 ' Detestation by every sober- P. 8, 19, 20,
 ' minded Man, and good Chri- 21, 22,
 ' stian; — a most execrable Murder; — a
 ' dismal Tragedy; — a horrid Transac-
 ' tion; — an unnatural Wickedness! &c.
 And you acknowledge, that 'the P. 20.
 ' Miseries consequent hereupon
 ' to the whole Nation, exceeded all De-
 ' scription.' But yet, after all this, you are
 far from coming up to the Intention of the
 Legislature; which (in the Act for
 the perpetual Observation of this
 Anniversary Fast) do not only, in
 the strongest Terms, *renounce, abominate,*
and protest against that impious Fact, —
 but also against *all Proceedings tending thereunto*. For, instead of this, you have plainly
 express'd your *Approbation* of P. 8.
 some of those *Proceedings*, under
 the Notion of a *Legal Opposition, made in a*
parliamentary Way! As if every thing done
 in a *Parliamentary Way* must of Course be
legal, just, equitable, and infallibly right?
 Tho'

Tho' the contrary is evident, from the Experience and Histories of all Ages, since our Kings first indulged their People with the Liberty to assemble (when call'd by the Royal Authority) in a *Parliamentary Way*; and particularly, in the Times now before us, when some of the pretended Parliaments were, in Truth, no better than a *Conventicle of Rebells*, (as honest Judge Jenkins bravely told them to their Face) and therefore such their Acts of *Opposition*, &c. could not have any *Legal Sanction of Authority*.

But you proceed, to shew your Respect to the *Martyr* of the Day (tho' you have not once vouchsafed him the Honour of that Title!) by telling your Hearers, to what that pretended *legal Opposition* was made; *viz.* to
 ' the monstrous Tyranny and Oppression,
 ' that was exercised in the beginning of King
 P. 8. ' Charles's Reign; when *unjust*
 ' Projects of all Kinds, many ri-
 ' diculous, many scandalous, all very grie-
 ' vous, were set on Foot, to squeeze Money
 ' out of the Subject, in an arbitrary, illegal
 Clarend. ' Manner; for which odious Re-
 Hist. Vol. 1 flections (there distinguish'd by
 P. 67. edit. 8°. a different Character) you vouch
 the noble *Historian of those Times*; but
 whether fairly or not, I have not Leisure
 here to examine. Be that Scandal whose it
 will, his or your own, the Character of its
 Author, (however otherwise Noble or Reve-
 rend)

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rend) can have no Proportion of Credit, against the concurrent Authority both of Church and State, whereby that Prince is solemnly pronounced *Innocent*, and a *blessed Martyr*, and so will be remember'd, among *the best of Men*, till Time shall be no more.

Stat. 12^o
Car. II. C.
30, and the
Office for the
Day.

Had you been inclin'd to do him common Justice, you might, at least have let him have the Benefit of this Apology, in common with other Princes, that ' Infallibility neither ' the King, nor his *Ministers* P. 23, 24. ' under him, ever laid any Claim ' to: Whatever *supposed* Errors therefore, in ' the difficult Task of Government may at ' any Time be *pretended* to have been dis- ' cover'd, still let us remember the Defe- ' rence and Respect *due* to Men in *Autho-* ' *rity*.

After you have said the worst you could of that good King, and foully misrepresented him as a *monstrous Tyrant and Oppressor*, 'tis no Wonder you take the Liberty, so scornfully to treat *that Sort of Men* (as you call them with too pert an Air of Contempt) *who pretend to have the greatest Veneration for his Memory*. Let P. 9.

me tell you, young Gentleman, if you mean the *Old Cavaliers*, they do not only *pretend*, but really *have the greatest Veneration* for it: And this they look upon to be their

their Duty, as well as their Glory, that, without any Hypocrisy, they join in the whole divine Office of our Church; and

^{2d Collect} particularly in that Prayer, *Let in that Of. his Memory, O Lord, be ever fice.*

Blessed among us, that we may follow the Example of his Courage and Constancy, his Meekness, and Patience, and great Charity. In the mean Time, you, and your *sort of Men*, may glory in your Shame, while you impute *Blasphemy* to those who religiously conform to the Duty of the Day, endeavouring to *render to all their due Praise*; and let fly among them a swarm of *May-bee's*, tho' without a Sting!

But, I pray you, Sir, where is the *Blas-*
P. 9. *phemy*, in shewing the great Re-

semblance there was between many of the Circumstances of the Passion of our Saviour and that of the Royal Martyr? Have you not heard what a Comfort it was to the King in his last Hours, when the History of Christ's Passion was read to him, as the Lesson for the Day, in the ordinary Course, according to the Kalendar? And whoever looks, without Prejudice, into the Histories of that Time, cannot but see enough to justify a remarkable Parallel, without any fear of your censure of *Blasphemy*.

For, not to mention the Allusion between the Persons and Characters of our *Lord Christ*, and the *Lord's Christ*(or Anointed) it must be

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be observ'd, that they were both subject to the *Contradiction of Sinners*, and persecuted, from the Time of their first Appearance on the public Stage of Life: That the Enemies of both were of *their own Nation*, and under infinite Obligations to them; some of them *Priests*, some *Elders*, some *Scribes*, with many *Pharisaical Sectaries*, tho' of different Principles and Interests, agreeing in nothing else, but all under the Influence of a wicked *Sanhedrim* or Parliament! That all Sorts of Subtilty, Craft and Artifice were made Use of, to trepan and ensnare them; and all Means used to discover and *take* them! That they both were betrayed, sold, and deliver'd up, by some who were nearest their Persons; denied and abjured by others, forsaken by the many, and confess'd by few: That both were prosecuted, as *publick Enemies*, under the specious Pretences of the *Public-good*, and the Security of the true *Religion*! That both were pursued with the Clamour of *Justice*, and *Execution*! (tho' both were *Innocent* of the pretended Crimes) and the worst of *Robbers* and *Murderers* preferred before them! That, as *Pilate's Wife* interposed a Caution to him against his Proceeding in the one Case, so did *Bradshaw's* the very same to her Husband, as did *Fairfax the General's Wife*, also make a public Protest against that in the other! That, after Sentence pronounce'd, they both were outrageously

D

ragiously

ragiously insulted, *mock'd* and even *spit upon*; and yet, in like Manner, not only *constantly* and *meekly suffered* all those *barbarous Indignities*, but even to the last *pray'd for them* who so *despitefully used* them, and *persecuted* them. To this might be added, that, as the one was crucified between *two Thieves*, so the other suffered between two no less mischievous Factions!

Here, I suppose, you will dispute this Point, as an especial Advocate for the *Presbyterians*; in whose Favour you have enter'd a Caveat, that we should not 'throw the

P. 20, 21.

' Blame of it upon any *Body of Men*, of one *general Denomination*, when there is nothing in their avowed Principles, which leads to this; besides which, the chief of them, at the very Time of the Transaction, declared their Detestation of it by a public Remonstrance; for which you refer us to *Neal's History of the Puritans*.

But, without examining your Voucher, I will grant you, That, 'almost all the *Presbyterian Ministers of London*, and

Eckard's Hist. of Eng. Vol.

II. 626.

' very many out of the several Counties, and a few of the Independents themselves, declar'd against the Design, in their Sermons from the Pulpit, in Conferences, Monitory Letters, Petitions, Protestations and publick Remonstrances. 'Tho,' if we consider the Time when

when they made all this Appearance of *Detestation*, we shall find, that, whatever Apologies they could make for themselves, or you for them, can never acquit the *Body* of them of the downright Guilt (which you, with a *false Modesty, and Affectation of*

Tenderness, softly call the Blame) P. 10, 20.

of that *dismal Tragedy*; when 'tis evident to all the World, that they were the Men, who not only form'd the Plot, and devised the Scenes, but acted their Parts throughout the whole, till it came near the fatal *Catastrophe*; when they were, very unwillingly, driven off the Stage, by other Actors, who had, under their Instruction, learn'd to finish what was yet to be done.

' Some indeed of our *English Pharisees*,
 ' would fain perswade us, that they abhorred
 ' the Murder of the Father, and assisted in the
 ' Restoration of the Son: And thus far they
 ' run parallel with Pilate; who took Water,
 ' and washed his Hands before the Multitude,
 ' saying, *I am innocent of the Blood of this*
 ' *just Person.* (*Matth. xxvii. 24.*) So far,
 ' 'tis true, he had declared the Prisoner *Inno-*
cent of the Charge laid against him, and,
 ' as such, had endeavour'd, by perswasive
 ' Arguments, to gain the Consent of the
 ' People to *release* him: But, after all this,
 ' when he saw that he could prevail nothing,
 ' but that rather a Tumult was made, he,
 ' contrary to Law, contrary to natural Jus-

‘tice, and contrary even to the declared Con-
 viction of his own Conscience, basely,
 ‘thro’ Fear, gave up the innocent Victim
 into the Hands of his Enemies, whom he
 knew to be maliciously resolv’d to destroy
 him. And how did our *Presbyterians*
 manifest their Innocence in the other Case?
 Why truly, they first plotted, conspired,
 and by all unlawful Means attempted, the
 utter Overthrow of our ancient Heredi-
 tary Monarchy, and of the true Church of
England, (which, under God, is the only
 Support of it;) but they did not thoroughly
 establish and settle their own covenanted
 Model of a *Genevan Purity* in both, upon
 the Ruins thereof! They raised Tumults,
 Riots, and rebellious Armies, to fight
 against their King; but they did not kill
 him! They Shot at him, and kill’d thou-
 sands of his loyal Subjects on every Side of
 him; but they did not touch his sacred
 Person, nor hurt a Hair of his Head! They
 gave vast Sums of Money to get him into
 their Power, and made him a Prisoner;
 but they did not presume (good Men!) to
 bring him to an open Trial, and to put him
 to death; tho’ the Prison of a Prince gene-
 rally stands upon the Brink of his Grave!
 They openly rebelled against him indeed;
 but they did not murder him! They first
 disabled him of all his Prerogatives and Pow-
 er to save himself, and then tied his Hands;
 but

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‘ but they did not bring him to the Scaffold !
 ‘ No ! The last bloody Stroke was not given
 ‘ by the *Presbyterians* themselves, but by their
 ‘ Disciples and Fellow-Labourers in the same
 ‘ *Good old-Cause*, the *Independents* : Who, by
 ‘ the like Logic, might acquit themselves of
 ‘ the Guilt, because the Blow was given by the
 ‘ Executioner in a Mask ; as the Execu-
 ‘ tioner also might plead, that it was not he,
 ‘ but the Ax in his Hand, which did cut off
 ‘ the King’s Head !

This Quotation, from an original Manuscript, seems to state the Case fairly, and to render to all their Dues. But, whereas you would perswade us, that ‘ the Action itself
 ‘ is generally condemned, by
 ‘ Men of all Denominations a- ^{P. 22.}
 ‘ mong us, their avowed Principles tending
 ‘ to Loyalty, and obliging to ^{P. 20, 21.}
 ‘ Obedience : — that there is
 ‘ nothing in their avowed Principles, which
 ‘ leads to this ; — and therefore no *Body* of
 ‘ Men ought to be charged with it :’ I would recommend to all our unprejudic’d Readers, in order to their giving a just Judgment of this Issue between us, first to attend to the Evidence of these following Witnesses, upon which (among many others) I shall rest the whole Cause ; viz. Archbishop *Bancroft’s Dangerous Positions and Proceedings*, &c. of the *Presbyterians* (several Times reprinted) : Mr. *Dav. Owen’s Herod and Pilate reconciled* ;

ciled; or The Concord of Papist and Puritan, for the Coercion, Deposition, and Killing of Kings, printed, 1610, in 4to. Mr. J. Corbet's Epistle congratulatory of *Lysimachus Nicanor*, to the Covenanters, 1640, and 1684, in 4to. Mr. Tho. Edwards's *Gangraena*, in 3 Parts, 1646, in 4to. Mr. Clem. Walker's History of *Independency*, in 4 Parts, 1648, and 1660, in 4to. Dr. Heylin's History of the *Presbyterians*, 1670, in Folio. Mr. H. Foulis's History of our pretended Saints, 1674, in Folio; and the Examination of (your Favourite) Mr. Neal's History of the *Puritans* (begun by Bp. Maddox, and finished by Dr. Z. Grey) in 4 Volumes, 1733, and 1739, in 8vo. From some, or all of which, may be gathered abundant Proof, that, ever since those Twin-Brothers (the *Jesuit* and *Presbyterian*) came into the World together, (that is, above 200 Years past,) their common Principle and Practice (as well as that of all their Spawn of other Sectaries) has been to *despise Dominion, and speak Evil of Dignities*; to

P. 10.

' pursue such Schemes, as have
' a natural Tendency to overturn and destroy
' all order of Government, and the Peace
' of Society? And (whatever *Professions* they
may make of modern *Loyalty and Obedience*,

P. 11.

as ' Friends to Monarchy, Lovers
' of their Country, and Patrons
' of Liberty, they have constantly heretofore
' behaved

behaved in such a Manner as (whenever they prevailed, did) destroy the whole Frame of our Constitution, and bury the Liberties of the People, the Privileges of the Nobility, and the Rights of the Crown, in one common Ruin and Destruction.'

'Tis therefore in Compliance with your own Advice, and that of your Text, that I thus endeavour to *render to all their dues*; and do not scruple to set the mischievous Consequences of such Behaviour before their Eyes, that so, if I cannot reclaim them from their evil Ways, (which P. 10. 11.
I sincerely wish to do) I may, at least, render them wholly without Excuse.' But, to what I have already said, I shall only subjoin what is added (in the *Manuscript* before-quoted) to the Parallel there carried on, between the *two Thieves* and the *two Factions*; 'tho' with this great Difference, that neither of *these* have yet prov'd themselves truly *Penitent*, as one of the *others* did upon the Cross. For, how can we think them Penitents, who instead of observing the Day appointed by Authority, as a solemn Fast and Humiliation for the Sins of their Fathers, do still Glory in the execrable Deed; impiously profaning the Day with their Mock-Feasts, and impudently deriding us for our dutiful Observation of it? In a Word, when the *Jews*, who so outrageously prosecuted our Saviour,

and

‘ and *Judas*, who so basely betray’d him,
 ‘ and *Pilate*, who so unjustly condemn’d
 ‘ him, shall be acquitted before God and
 ‘ Man ; then (but not till then) may our
 ‘ *Fanatic Heroes*, be esteem’d *Saints*, and
 ‘ all their Actions as *innocent* as the other ! ’

So much for your Clients. Now, Sir, by your Leave, a Word or two to yourself. You take upon you to affirm, with a positive Air of Assurance, That ‘ indeed, *all Orders* ‘ of Men were, at different Times, and in ‘ different Manners, concerned in beginning ‘ or widening the Breach; and by some ‘ Means or other, helped on the Miseries ‘ that afterwards ensued : A strange Infatu- ‘ ation had spread itself over the P. 21.
 ‘ *whole Land*; and neither No-
 ‘ bility, nor Judges, nor Clergy, nor City, ‘ nor Country, can be wholly excused from ‘ being the Promoters, at least, of their own ‘ Destruction. Tho’ therefore the Odium, ‘ and the Load of Guilt, be generally thrown ‘ upon *one Sort of Men*, and *one Sett of* ‘ Principles only ; yet the Truth is too ‘ notorious to be denied, that *all did*, in ‘ their Several Turns and Proportions, help ‘ to bring on the impending Storm.’ Here, notwithstanding all your Confidence, you have not prov’d any thing, but your own Prejudice to the Church of *England*, and her Orthodox Members, and your partial Affection to that other Sort of Men, and those
 of

of that other Sett of Principles, whose Advocate you are. No wonder therefore, that you declaim so loudly against what you call
 ‘ all that Wrath and Bitterness,
 ‘ which some Men pour forth
 ‘ so plentifully upon this *Day*, against those
 ‘ who are no more concerned in the *Guilt* of it
 ‘ than we ourselves are!’ But now give me leave
 to ask you, what you mean by *We ourselves*?
 If you speak in the Language of the Bar,
 and mean your Clients for whom you are
 pleading, the *Truth is too notorious to be denied*, that no Sort of Men are more, (or
 so much,) *concern'd in the Guilt of that unnatural Wickedness*, as yourselves are: But, if
 you speak in Character, as a Churchman,
 and in the Style of the Pulpit, suitable to the
 Dignity of the Place you then had the Honour
 to appear in, your Assertion is as *notoriously* false. For, I fairly challenge you to shew any *Orthodox* Members of the Church
 of *England*, whether of the *Nobility, Judges, Clergy, City or Country*, of what *Order* or
 Degree soever, who are justly liable to that
Odious and Scandalous Reflection. You suppose, That ‘ by Chance some
 ‘ few real Friends to *Britain*,
 ‘ who sincerely wish the Prosperity and
 ‘ Peace of their Country, have unwarily
 ‘ been drawn in, to abet such Measures, as
 ‘ naturally tend to overturn and destroy the
 ‘ best-constituted Scheme of Government

' (and, upon the whole, the *best executed*) of
 ' any in the known World :' And in such
 Case you recommend to them, to recollect
 themselves—without Delay, returning to
 their Duty; and, instead of opposing,
 assist and promote those Measures, which
 can alone make the Kingdom flourishing,
 the King glorious, and ourselves happy.'

Now, this was the very Case of *some few*
 Churchmen, who were at first *unwarily*
drawn in, to join in what you call a *Legal*

P. 8. *Opposition in a parliamentary Way,*
to Tyranny, Oppression, and Arbitr ary Power : But when they saw through
 the Specious Pretences of the Leaders of the
 Faction, and found their real Design was no
 less than the utter Ruin and Destruction of
 the whole Constitution both in Church and
 State, they immediately forsook the Faction,
 acknowledged their Duty, and made ample
 Amends by their future loyal and uniform
 Conduct. Now, Sir, when you can fairly
 prove the *Body* of those Men of any other
 Denomination (for whom you are an Advo-
 cate) to have manifested the same Repentance,
 Amendment, and uniform Perseverance in the
 Principles and Practice of true Religion and
 due Obedience to *Authority*, there will
 soon be an End of all that you call *Wrath*
 and *Bitterness*, (which, by the way, was
 never *poured forth* but against the hardened
 and impenitent;) and you may be allow'd
 to

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to persist in your (yet apparently too bold) Assertion, that the *Body of Men*
 of any one general Denomination P. 20, 21,
 are no more concern'd in, or
 chargeable with, the *Guilt of the Day*, than
 those of another.

In the mean Time, I cannot but take Notice of your curious Remark, that
 'tis now a compleat Century, P. 22.
 since this unnatural *Wickedness* was per-
 petrated, the Actors in it have been long
 since dead; &c. And what then, I pray,
 Sir? Do you think therefore 'tis high Time
 to leave the Day out of the Kalendar, as not
 necessary to be observed any longer? All the
 Authority, both of Church and State, is of a
 different Opinion; commanding it to be, for
 ever hereafter, set apart to be kept and ob-
 serv'd, as an *Anniversary Day of Fasting and*
Humiliation, to implore the Mercy of God,
 &c. You do not, indeed, in express Terms,
 declare for the Abolition of it, as some others
 have more audaciously done: But you have
 slyly insinuated as much, by intimating that
 the Actors in it have been long since dead,
 and the Action itself is generally con-
 demned by Men of all Denominations
 among us; &c. If this be any Argument
 (as some have used it) for abolishing this An-
 niversary, it may be more strongly urg'd for
 abolishing another, after more than seventeen
 compleat Centuries. Yet that can never be

reasonably abolish'd, while we have so many *Jews, Turks, Infidels* and *Hereticks* among us. In like Manner, supposing all you have said of *this* to be true *in general* (which I see no Reason yet to grant) while we meet with so many profess'd Justifications of the Principles and *Proceedings tending to the dismal Tragedy of the Day*, (of if not the Fact itself too) not only from the Press but the Pulpit; all good *Christians* must still think it a necessary Duty, *to implore the Mercy of God, that neither the Guilt of that sacred and innocent Blood, nor those other Sins by which God was provoked to deliver up both us and our King into the Hands of cruel and unreasonable Men, may at any Time hereafter be visited upon us or our Posterity.* Nor can it be deemed an impertinent or unseasonable Attempt in a true Churchman and loyal Subject, thus fairly to encounter such pernicious Principles, when we have undoubted Authority to observe,

that ' the Growth and Increase of
Stat. 13. Car. ii. Cap. i. ' *those Troubles and Disorders*
 ' did, in a very great Measure,
 ' proceed from a Multitude of seditious Ser-
 ' mons, Pamphlets and Speeches, daily
 ' preach'd, printed and publish'd, with a
 ' transcendent Boldness, defaming the Person
 ' and Government of their then undoubted
 ' Rightful Sovereign, wherein Men were
 ' too much encouraged: And (above all)
 ' from a wilful Mistake of the suprem
 ' and

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and lawful Authority, whilst Men were forward to cry up and maintain those Orders and Ordinances, Oaths and Covenants, to be Acts legal and warrantable, which in themselves had not the least Colour of Law or Justice to support them; from which kind of Distempers, as the present Age is not yet wholly freed, so Posterity may be apt to relapse into them, if a timely Remedy be not provided.

And now, lest my Letter should become as tiresome to you and its Readers, as your Sermon has been to me and many of its Hearers, I shall lay down my Pen, after I have briefly and coolly expostulated with you, upon some of your occasional Expressions, which otherwise might be liable to Misconstruction.

You give your Sermon a Title of too great a Latitude, without any Distinction of Government rightful or usurp'd, Opposition legal or forcible, or who is to judge of the Reasonableness of either. Let me therefore advise you, if it should chance to have the Honour of a second Edition, to correct your Title, more agreeably to your Text and the Duty of the Day; and call it *The Mischiefs of forcible Opposition to rightful Government or Authority.*

In your Dedication, you boast of your Opposition to the prevailing Humour of the factious and unruly. Who you mean by that

that Reflection, requires an Explanation. Every one knows who are now *Prevailing*: But you know best, why you give them such odious Characters.

Again, you make it a seeming Paradox,
 Ibid. ‘ that the real Friends to *true Liberty* should be forc'd to stand
 forth in Maintenance of the just Rights of
 Authority! as if these two were Incon-
 sistent and Incompatible! Whereas, no ho-
 nest Man and good Subject will desire more
Liberty, than is consistent with the just
 P. 8. 24. *Rights of Authority*; for that (as
 you elsewhere confess) ‘ is not
 ‘ *Liberty*, but *Licentiousness*.’

Where you speak on a Supposition of the civil Magistrate's not continuing to act agreeably to the End of his Office, but proving a *Terror to the good Works, and not to the Evil*, you say, ‘ no one, surely! now a Days,
 P. 8. ‘ will pretend, that the Religion
 ‘ of Christ requires us to be ac-
 cessary to our own Destruction? &c. What
 you mean by that dangerous Insinuation,
Now-a-Days, as if that were our present Case, I leave you to account for, as well as you can. It sounds very harshly out of the Mouth of so great a Pretender to modern Loyalty. But I shall have Occasion to take Notice of other Instances of the like Inconsistency, before I have done.
 As to what you say of the *governed Society* ha-
 ving

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ving a natural *Right* to be exerted against their
Governours, as they themselves
shall judge it necessary and *prudent* (*Ibid.*
for that is the *English* of your Maxim;) whatever you may think of it, according to your Politicks, 'tis neither good Divinity, Morality, Law, nor common Sense; as appears by what is before said.

Your Declaration against a *Factional Spirit of Opposition, clogging the Wheels of Government, and Distressing an*

Administration, without real Cause, is not to be understood, till the *Faction in the Opposition*, and those in the *Administration*, have first agreed, what shall be a *real Cause of Opposition*, and what not; which Preliminaries will probably not be settled before *Dooms-day!* when all *Factions* will receive according to their Demerits. And the same may be said of what you add, of the Difference between the *illegal P. 9.*
exacting of Money, and a *legal and equitable Administration*.

But, what follows is still more remarkable. After speaking of the Injunction in your Text, to render to All their Dues, as the great Rule of Justice, and an Epitome of the whole Civil Law, as well as the Moral; insomuch that ' whoever shall sincerely endeavour to comport themselves by this Rule, will very rarely (if ever) be wanting in their Duty to God, the King, their

P. 12, 13.

' their Neighbour, or Themselves; and who-
' ever shall neglect or despise it in any Man-
' ner, must so far forth, at least, fall short
' of fulfilling the necessary Offices of Life
' incumbent on them; (all which you ex-
emplify in the Ways of *Traffick*, and in
Matters of mere *Grace* and *Favour*,) you
take Occasion to add this extraordinary Pe-
riod; ' And even with Respect to a Man's

P. 13. ' *Self*, tamely to give up, or cate-
 ' lessly to neglect the asserting, his

' own just Rights, would procure him no
' better Title, than that of an *easy Fool!* And
' yet (which would be amazing beyond Ex-
' pression, were it not by its frequency be-
' come familiar to us;) Men attempt the
' establishing to themselves a Reputation of
' *Wisdom*, by with-holding from *God* and
' the *King* their just Dues! Now, from all
this, some People are apt to conclude, that
it could not but be intended in favour of the
Jacobite Cause, and those who espouse it on
a Principle (as they believe) of *Right* and
Justice! They say, in the first part of this
Passage, you have given a Character of their
Party, as Men of Honour, Probity and Con-
science; in the next, you have made a fair
Apology for Him who made the late At-
tempt to recover their supposed *just Rights*;
and in the last, that you have artfully censur'd
those who opposed him, for their *with-hold-*
ing those supposed *just Dues* from him! This
 (they

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(they say) is the plain and genuine Sense and Meaning of your Words here quoted; and that all your Reflections upon an *Abjured Popish Pretender!* The ^{P. 9, 11, 12.} *Mad Adventurer, with his Mountain-Robbers!* and such-like Terms of Reproach, are only thrown in by the bye, as Words of Course, adapted to the Language of the Times, to make the rest pass without Offence, and to screen yourself from the Dangerous Suspicion of Disaffection! This, you alone know, whether true or false; And I thought it but Justice to let you know what is said, that you may take a proper Opportunity to clear yourself of the Imputation.

Speaking elsewhere of *Infidelity*, you reflect, 'what notable *Patriots* those Men are, ' who have given Encouragement ^{P. 15.} ' to this *Epidemic Evil*, which ' hath, of late Years, spread so much among ' us. Have they not shew'd themselves, by ' this Behaviour, to be as void of *Sense* as ' *Faith*, as void of Skill in the Arts of true ' *Policy*, as in *Religion?*' Now, this is an heavy Charge indeed, upon some reputed *Patriots*! And the worse too, because of its direct Tendency to *Popery, Sla-* ^{P. 22.} *very and Tyranny*. Had you given some Light to discover whom 'tis aim'd at, it might have been of some Service, at least to your Hearers; who may be apt to

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mif-

P. 10. misapply it, and think you meant the *Coalition*, of whom you had spoken with so much Contempt; or some Men in great Power, under whose Influence and Encouragement this *Evil of Infidelity* hath of late Years become Epidemical.

P. 17. What you say of *Ambitious and Factious Politicians*, and their Artifices to alarm the Populace with imaginary *Dangers*, which are generally the *Fictions* of their own idle Brains, we have seen verified in some of our own Times. I should therefore be always jealous of any one who is set up for a *Guardian of the Liberties of the People* (which supposeth them in a State of Minority,) next to him who should presume to set up for the *Guardian of the Honour of God*.

P. 19. The next Expression I shall here take Notice of, is that of *the Subjects undoubted Birth-right of Freedom and Independency*. But this is an Absurdity in Nature. For, as a State of *Subjection* and *Independency* are inconsistent, so every Man in the World, from *Cain* downwards, is born a *Subject*, except he happens to be a posthumous Sovereign Prince, born after the Death of his Father.

You speak of the King's being arraign'd
as

‘ as a Felon and a Traytor:’ But I don’t find *Felony* imputed to him either at his *Arraignment* or Sentence; otherwise than as *Murder* is in Law a Species of *Felony*. The Words of the Charge against him were, as a *Tyrant*, *Traytor*, *Murderer*, and *public Enemy*!

You say, *Popery* and *Infidelity*, ' tho
seemingly at the widest Distance P. 22.
possible, yet generally advance
Hand in Hand, and are reciprocally Parents
of each other.' Where, I shall not stand to
criticize upon the Propriety of their being
reciprocally Parents. But, if the Relation
between these two be so natural, and the
Transition so easy, have we not Reason to
apprehend the coming in of *Popery* from a
Quarter which was least of all sus- P. 15.
pected? Since you told us how

much Infidelity hath of late Years spread, by the Encouragement of some notable Patriots, among us; as I observ'd before. To prevent which (and that, I believe, is the only Way to prevent it, if Englishmen would yet be so wise and honest to follow this your good Piece of Advice,) 'let a hearty Zeal for the Purity of Religion, and a Willingness to obey those who have a rightful Authority over us, be, as it ought to be, the peculiar Glory, the di-

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' stinguishing Character, of the English Na-
' tion.

To this I freely assent, and subscribe, ex
Animo,

SIR,

Your Servant,

20 MA 59

In every good Cause,

PHILOCAROLUS.

P O S T-

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P O S T S C R I P T.

GI V E me Leave here, Sir, at parting, to put you gently in Mind of the Principles you profess'd, when you was of St. John's College in *Oxford*. 'Tis not so long ago, that you can have forgot the annual Commemoration of the *Founder*, and that of your other great Benefactor Abp. *Laud*, whose Bread you eat there. You know best, whether you then did your Duty on those Occasions, or on either of the other two solemn Anniversaries of *Jan. 30*, and *May 29*. Consider then, whether the *Conditional Allegiance*, &c. so confidently asserted by the venal Orator at St. *Paul's*, is consistent with the Spirit of Loyalty which breath'd in those annual Speeches at St. John's. If not, you must have worne a Mask at one or other of those Places; which will justify the Suspicions of your real Design in several Passages of your late extraordinary Sermon.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

P. 10. l. 14. (*in Marg.*) for p 14. read p. 16. P.
14. l. 26, for there read here. P. 10. l 15. for
purity read parity. P. 28. l. 8. read if not of.

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